

EXHIBIT B.27

Introduction

I have been requested by counsel to respond to the opinions written by Lori Allen, David Miller, and Glenn Robinson in the case Sokolow vs the PLO.

Expertise

Appears in first opinion I submitted.

Findings

The three opinions show repeated attempts to reframe the violence and terror organized and directed by the Palestinian Authority into something that would justify and explain the suicide attacks, drive-by shootings, and repeated murder of Jews and Israelis. Their reframing of the conflict is intended to arouse sympathy as suffering victims for those who murdered and those who sent them. Moreover, it is intended to make it seem like Palestinians had intense hatred of Israelis which brought them to spontaneously launch a five year campaign of terror and murder. A terror campaign that included suicide bombings against civilians and drive-by shootings of civilians without any direction and guidance or approval from the Palestinian leadership. Indeed, Lori Allen, David Miller, and Glenn Robinson are claiming that the hatred was so deep that the Palestinian Authority under Arafat actually tried to stop the terror campaign but was unable to influence the masses. Their purpose is to remove responsibility from the Palestinian Authority for its five year terror campaign, which it calls the “Al-Aqsa Intifada” which it actively promoted and directed.

Some of the claims included in the three opinions are:

- 1- That the Palestinians had suffered terrible “human rights abuses” under Israeli administration from 1967 - 1994.
- 2- It is these years of “humiliation” and “human rights abuses” that brought the Palestinian population to start the violence and terror in Sept. 2000.
- 3- The conflict which Palestinians refer to as the “Second Intifada,” was not a religious conflict but only because of Palestinian suffering and nationalism.
- 4- The PA did not incite terror.
- 5- The PA was against terror and tried to stop it.
- 6- The PA’s referring to suicide bombers as “Shahids” (Islamic Martyrs) did not imply religious significance and did not constitute a sign of approval and praise for their acts.
- 7- Arafat was weak and could neither call the masses to fight nor stop them from fighting
- 8- In addition there is an attempt to delegitimize the opinion I prepared not based on the content but on personal attacks on me.

Response

The three reports include misrepresentation, distortion and outright falsification, all designed to create these impressions mentioned above.

The writers of these opinions repeatedly try to demonize the state of Israel, depicting it as a violator of human rights. The claim of human rights abuse and “humiliation” as the cause of violence and /or terror is a common defense that attempts to arouse sympathy.

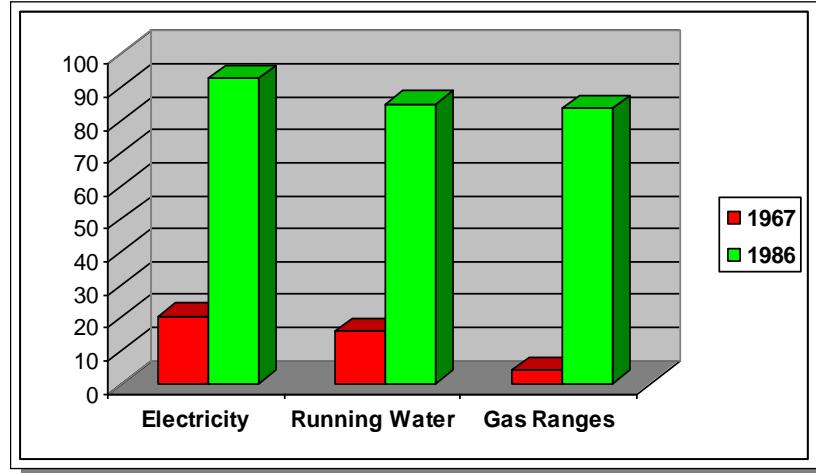
Indeed, the statement by Osama Bin Laden on Al-Jazeera, October 7, 2001 that explains why Al-Qaeda attacked the World Trade Center on 9-11 uses the similar justification:

"I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is his Messenger. There is America, hit by God in one of its softest spots. Its greatest buildings were destroyed, thank God for that. There is America, full of fear from its north to its south, from its west to its east. Thank God for that. What America is tasting now is something insignificant compared to what we have tasted for scores of years. **Our nation (the Islamic world) has been tasting this humiliation and this degradation for more than 80 years.** Its sons are killed, its blood is shed, its sanctuaries are attacked, and no one hears and no one heeds. When God blessed one of the groups of Islam, vanguards of Islam, they destroyed America. I pray to God to elevate their status and bless them. (Ex S2 - 1 full translation reported by AP)

However, an examination of the facts and figures as well as Palestinian opinions show that the opposite was happening. The Israeli administration of the West Bank and Gaza Strip was the first time the local population was treated with respect and their economy was developed. Life for West Bank and Gaza Arabs improved dramatically under Israel. There had been no serious growth or development when Jordan ruled the West Bank and Egypt ruled the Gaza Strip from 1949. From 1967, Israel was the first country ever to create infrastructure, education, health care, etc for the Arab populations of these areas.

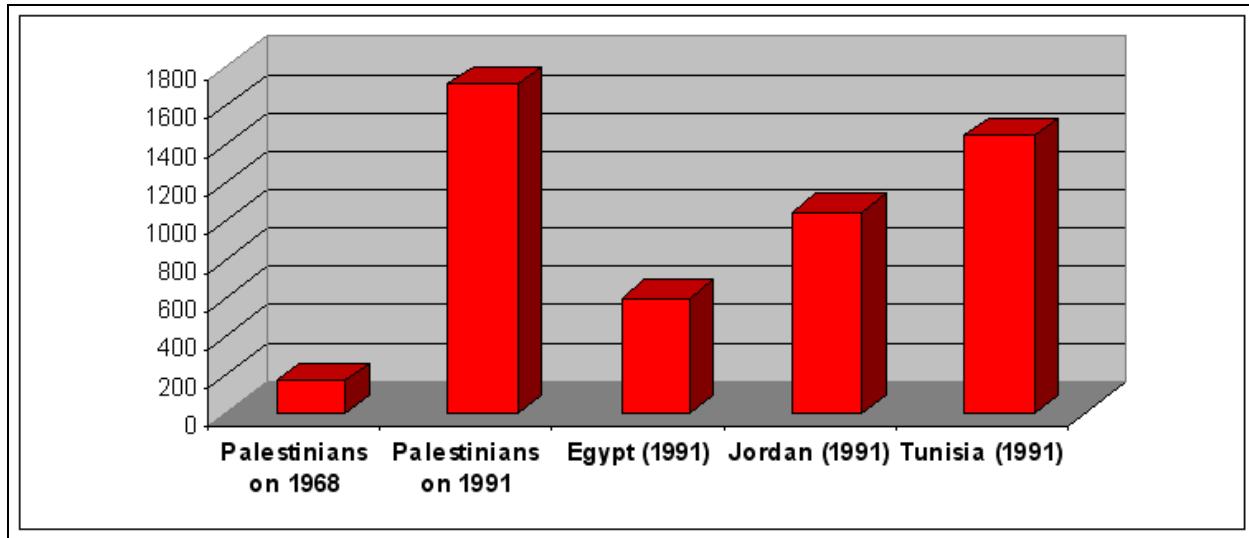
A look at some of the growth figures in key aspects of economy, health and education in the West Bank and Gaza under Israel after Jordan and Egypt demonstrate this:

Arab West Bank – Gaza Infrastructure growth under Israel 1967 - 1986



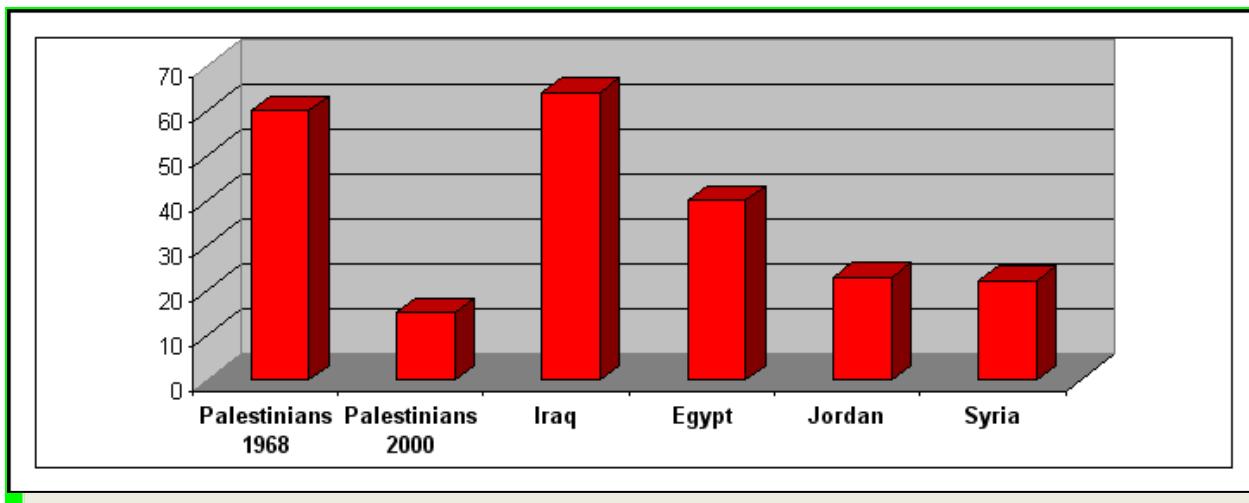
Source of all charts and stats: Commentary Magazine: July/August 2002

West Bank – Gaza Gross National Product (GNP) per Capita, between 1968 - 1991



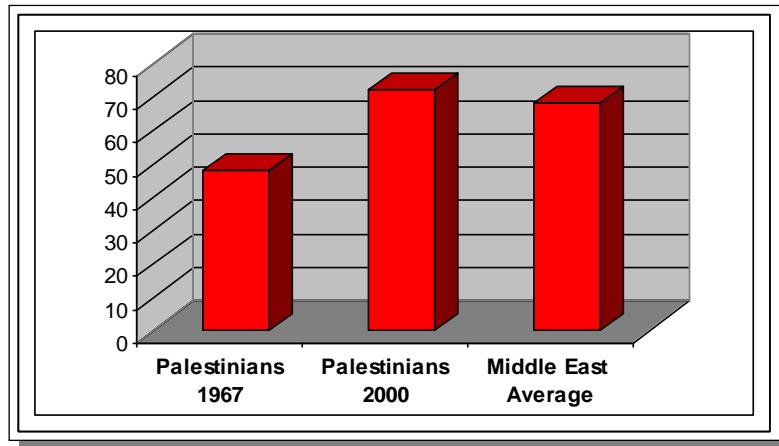
Under Israeli administration in the 1970's, the West Bank and Gaza became the fourth fastest-growing economy in the world - ahead of successes like Singapore, Hong Kong, and Korea, and ahead of Israel itself.

Israel developed medical treatment of infants (neonatal care) as well as treatment of the general population. In the West Bank and Gaza infant-mortality rate (per thousand births) went from 60 down to 15 in the years 1968 – 2000.



Under Israel's programs of inoculation, childhood diseases like polio, whooping cough, tetanus and measles were eradicated.

Arab West Bank – Gaza Life Expectancy
1967 - 2000



Life expectancy rose from 48 years to 72 years under Israel in the years 1967 to 2000.

Higher Education likewise was initiated under Israel. Jordan and Egypt had not opened a single university for the local population. Israel opened six. And in general for adults over age 15 illiteracy rate dropped to 14% which was better than, Morocco (69%) Egypt (61%) Tunisia (45%) and Syria (44%).

Now certainly, the Arab population also had nationalistic expectations, and that was the reason Israel signed the Oslo Accords. The Oslo Accords were signed and designed create the basis for the achievement of an agreed political status for the Palestinian population through negotiations. But to claim, as did the three opinions I reviewed, that Israel was a human rights violator when Israel was the first country to worry about the Palestinian human rights is a complete falsehood.

Israel's positive human rights record is affirmed not only by these statistics but also by polls taken by the Center for Palestine Research & Studies, a Palestinian research center headed by the most respected Palestinian pollster Dr. Khalil Shikaki. Over four years, from 1996 – 1999, he asked Palestinians to grade different countries in the world in democracy and human rights. Four years in a row, right after the end of nearly 30 years of Israeli administration of the West Bank and Gaza populations, Palestinians thought Israel was the best in the world in democracy and human rights. A full 77% and 78% of Palestinians gave Israel a positive rating in 1996 and 1997, while the US was lower at 66% and 68%, France still lower at 60% and 61% while the PA was lower still at 44% and 50%.

“Palestinian public perception of the status of democracy and human rights in the West Bank and Gaza has improved somewhat with 50% expressing the belief that it is good or very good compared to 44% in December 1996. **Compared to other countries,**

Palestine came after Israel (which received 77% in April and 78% last December), US (66% in April and 68% in December), and France (61% in April and 60% in December); it came before Jordan (38% in April and 34% in December) and Egypt (37% in April and 34% in December)."

<http://www.pcpsr.org/survey/cprspolls/97/poll27a.html#democracy>

October 1999

Later poll results reconfirmed Israel as most admired by Palestinians in democracy and human rights through 1999, just one year before the start of the Intifada. It is significant also that the highest percentage of Palestinians giving Israel a positive rating was right after the end of Israeli administration. After years of the most direct contact between the Palestinian population and Israel is when Palestinians gave Israel its highest rating in human rights. Even though it dropped in 1999, Israel still was higher by 12% than the US and 17% higher than France and 33% higher than the PA itself. The following is the poll from Center for Palestine Research & Studies from April 2000:

"Status of Democracy and Human Rights, Corruption, and Reform
"Positive evaluation of the status of democracy and human rights in Palestine does not exceed 32% compared to 67% in Israel, 55% in the US, 50% in France, 32% in Jordan, and 29% in Egypt.
<http://www.pcpsr.org/survey/cprspolls/99/poll44a.html>

The year 2000, the year the PA was to start the Intifada, showed a major drop in respect for the PA and Yasser Arafat by Palestinians. The PA was seen as having corruption (71%), with only 22% giving it a positive rating in democracy and in polling regarding elections for the presidency
"Arafat's popularity drops to 39% for the first time since 1994... The current percentage is the worst since we began asking about Arafat's popularity in 1994."

In this poll Palestinians were not asked about Israel or the US.

This was from the April 2000 poll:

"71% believe that corruption exists in PA institutions.
66% of those who believe in the existence of corruption believe that it will increase or remain the same in the future.
Positive evaluation of Palestinian democracy drops to 22%.
65% believe that people can not criticize the PA without fear.

The results show negative trends in all indicators of domestic conditions. The percentage of those who believe that corruption exists in PA institutions increased from 60% in the last poll in February 2000 to 71% in this poll. The percentage of those who believe that corruption will increase or remain the same increased from 64% to 66% during the same period. The percentage of the positive evaluation of Palestinian democracy decreased from 28% in February to 22% in this poll. Finally, the

percentage of those who believe that people cannot criticize the PA without fear increased from 62% to 65% during the same period.

These results, and those in the next section, are the worst to be recorded since 1996. They reflect the frustrating conditions of the Palestinians since the Petition of the Twenty including the events of the past few weeks such as the Bir Zeit University incident, the teachers' strike, and the events at al Deheisha refugee camp in the aftermath of the Pope's visit.

(4) Elections for the President

In elections for the presidency, Arafat's popularity drops to 39% for the first time since 1994... The current percentage is the worst since we began asking about Arafat's popularity in 1994."

[<http://www.pcpsr.org/survey/cprspolls/2000/poll48a.html#peace>]

These polls already gave an indication as to why the Palestinian Authority (the PA, not the people) would have started a violent conflict with Israel. Its incentive to do so would have been all those things –humiliation, collapsed economy, corruption – all the things that Israel is accused of in the opinions of Lori Allen, David Miller, and Glenn Robinson - these were all the things that the Palestinian Authority was guilty of in the eyes of their own population, as exemplified by the polls made by the Palestinian pollster.

Looking at the Palestinian political environment prior to the Intifada creates a striking picture. In the months prior to the Intifada it was Arafat who had lost the respect of the Palestinian population while Israel was still seen – in the most recent poll in 1999 – as the best in the world in democracy and human rights. Arafat was losing respect. Israel was still highly respected.

Lori Allen referred as part of her summation to "the violation of their [Palestinian] human rights [by Israel] for decades, well before the Palestinian Authority came into existence." Allen is claiming this in order to cite it as motive for Palestinians' terror against Israelis. However, Palestinians at the time certainly felt it was the PA that was the human rights violator and not Israel. If human rights violations were the cause of the conflict, they would have been fighting their own leadership and not Israel.

Arafat chooses to start a conflict

It is within this political setting, and possibly because of it, that Arafat and the PA decided to initiate this conflict. Arafat and his PA were seen as corrupt and had lost the popularity of the people. There were human rights violations. There was no press freedom; journalists were tortured and arrested by the PA, as is shown in my first opinion, in the report by Palestinian human rights activist Bassem Eid.

It's at this time that Yasser Arafat decided to initiate a conflict. He started preparing his people for this in the beginning of July 2000, through greater incitement to hatred and greater incitement to violence during the summer of 2000. These were all documented

by Palestinian Media Watch in a report in September 2000, prior to the outbreak of Palestinian violence. The opening sentence which turned out to be accurate asserted that PA TV "has created an atmosphere of the eve of outbreak of war."

[Ex- S2 - 2]

However, Arafat still needed a spark for the conflict. He could not choose to complain about oppression nor on human rights violations because these were not perceived by the Palestinian population as being Israeli violations, but they felt that it was Arafat himself who was guilty of these abuses.

Arafat decided to go the route of religious conflict in the name of Islam. After it was announced that Israeli Member of Parliament Ariel Sharon was going to Judaism's holiest site, the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, which is just a few hundred meters away from the Al Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest place in the world for Muslims, Arafat decided to call this an attack on the Al-Aqsa Mosque by Israel, and called for religious conflict by his people in defense of the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

According to Arafat's advisor and cited in my earlier opinion, Arafat knew that he could get the masses to come out to defend the Islamic holy site. A few days prior to the start of the Intifada, Arafat called the PLO leadership – political and military – to a meeting where he told them he wanted a conflict. Arafat explained and announced his plan to use Sharon's visit as a spark for a conflict:

"Yasser Arafat summoned the Palestinian leadership to an emergency meeting in Ramallah just prior to the day of the visit [to the Temple Mount, by Sharon], on Sept. 28, 2000. He said there: '... The battle for Jerusalem began with the Camp David summit, and Sharon's [planned] visit has brought it to here. Jerusalem is in danger, and the Al-Aqsa Mosque is in danger, and as Allah is my witness, I make this known.' Arafat spoke with the knowledge that Jerusalem holds a special status among the Palestinian people, and all the Arabic and Islamic peoples, and out of full conviction that it would be easy to enlist the Palestinian and Arab street, and to motivate them to take part in the battle in defense of Jerusalem and of the holy places.... He said, 'The believers will hurry to the defense of Al-Aqsa.'"

[Al-Ayyam, Sept. 30, 2001 Ex 2s 23]

It is important to note that Arafat filled his talk with religious terminology because he was about to embark on a religious conflict. This choice by Arafat to use a religious justification for war can be understood within the environment of the Middle East today, when one sees that religious wars are leading to terror and massacres. Religious people are willing to defend their religion, even with violence. Even within the same country, thousands of Iraqi Sunnis have been killed by Iraqi Shias and vice versa, often in mosques during prayer, because they have different view of the religion of Islam. Today in Syria, where over 100,000 people have been killed, and civilians massacred on both sides, Sunnis rebels many from different countries are fighting against Assad's Alawites, Shia from Iran and Shia Hezbollah.

The Al-Aqsa Intifada: Promotion of killing in the name of Islam for Allah as motivation for PA terror campaign (2000-2005)

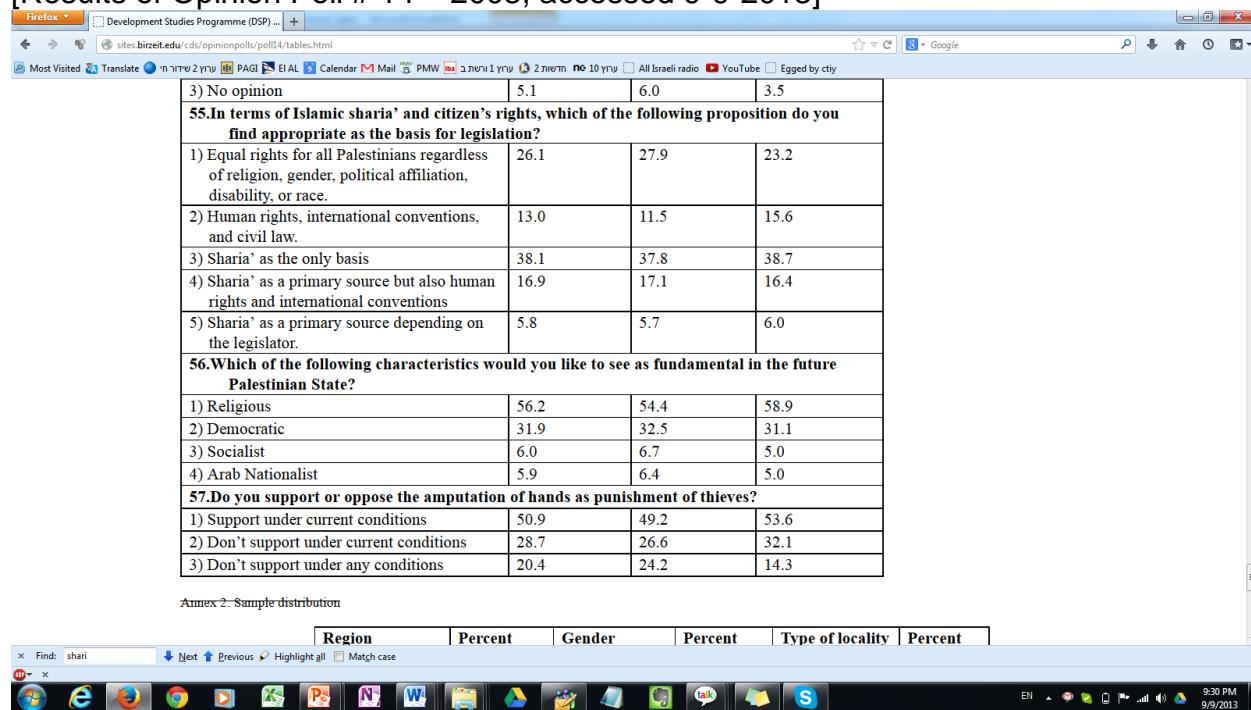
Arafat's choice of a religious symbol to start the war was because of the paramount religious identity of the Palestinian population. The religious nature of Palestinian society is fundamental to understanding the five years of terror that was promoted by religious teachings.

PA Polls about religious belief

A majority of Palestinians want Shari'ah law (Islamic law) to be the law of a Palestinian state and nearly 99% of Palestinians say religion is important or somewhat important to them. The following are some of the many polls of the Palestinian population during the Intifada and until today showing the intensity of religious beliefs and consistent desire to implement Shari'ah Law- Islamic Law.

<http://sites.birzeit.edu/cds/opinionpolls/poll14/tables.html>

[Results of Opinion Poll # 14 – 2003, accessed 9-9-2013]



Firefox Development Studies Programme (DSP) ...

sites.birzeit.edu/cds/opinionpolls/poll14/tables.html

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3) No opinion	5.1	6.0	3.5
55.In terms of Islamic sharia' and citizen's rights, which of the following proposition do you find appropriate as the basis for legislation?			
1) Equal rights for all Palestinians regardless of religion, gender, political affiliation, disability, or race.	26.1	27.9	23.2
2) Human rights, international conventions, and civil law.	13.0	11.5	15.6
3) Sharia' as the only basis	38.1	37.8	38.7
4) Sharia' as a primary source but also human rights and international conventions	16.9	17.1	16.4
5) Sharia' as a primary source depending on the legislator.	5.8	5.7	6.0
56.Which of the following characteristics would you like to see as fundamental in the future Palestinian State?			
1) Religious	56.2	54.4	58.9
2) Democratic	31.9	32.5	31.1
3) Socialist	6.0	6.7	5.0
4) Arab Nationalist	5.9	6.4	5.0
57.Do you support or oppose the amputation of hands as punishment of thieves?			
1) Support under current conditions	50.9	49.2	53.6
2) Don't support under current conditions	28.7	26.6	32.1
3) Don't support under any conditions	20.4	24.2	14.3

Annex 2- Sample distribution

Region	Percent	Gender	Percent	Type of locality	Percent

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September 27, 2003

How would you feel if a future Palestinian state were to be governed by Sha'riah law?

favorable 69%

unfavorable 25%

Palestinian Center for Public Opinion

March 3, 2005

"Should the Palestinian Authority (PA) adopt laws endorsed by Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) or Islamic Shari'a [Islamic Law] in the Palestinian law?"

68.6% of Palestinians express inclination towards the Islamic law (Shari'a)
15.9% are more inclined towards laws endorsed by the PLC,
11.3% would support both laws endorsed by PLC and Islamic Shari'a

Oct. 2008

Would you prefer to live in a secular state or in a country ruled by religion?

A secular state 22.6

A religious state 77.4

http://www.neareastconsulting.com/surveys/all/p310/out_freq_I2.php

In addition that same poll found that 77% of Palestinians read the Quran every day.

http://www.neareastconsulting.com/surveys/all/p310/out_freq_I4.php

PCRD - Palestinian Center for Research and Cultural Dialogue

"85% - religion plays an important role in their lives

13.7% considered religion as somewhat important

less than 1% considered religion not important."

[Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies (RCHRS) www.rchrs.org, August 2010]

A poll conducted in August 2010 by the Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies (RCHRS) found that "more than 85% of those [Palestinians] surveyed said that religion plays an important role in their lives, while 13.7% considered religion as somewhat important, and less than 1% considered religion not important."¹

When an overwhelming percentage of a society believes that Islam is important or somewhat important, and more than 60% want to be ruled under Islamic law, it is understood why Arafat chose the religious premise, the "defense of the Al-Aqsa Mosque" – even though it was never in any danger – as the spark for the conflict.

Arafat chose the Al-Aqsa Mosque as the trigger and momentum for war. Given Arafat's low popularity and the high level of corruption that Palestinians saw in Arafat and the PA, Arafat had to choose a reason for conflict that was greater than those weaknesses. Due to the religious nature of Palestinian society Yasser Arafat chose to exploit Sharon's visit to the Jewish and Muslim holy site as the motivation for violence and terror against Israelis and Jews.

Palestinian violence started already during Sharon's walk on the Temple Mount near the Mosque, as well as in many of the PA controlled areas and then it escalated daily.

Once the violence started in defense of Al-Aqsa – soon to be named the "Al-Aqsa Intifada" - as Arafat had hoped and anticipated, the PA's religious establishment was

¹ 1,607 people were surveyed. 1,016 from the West Bank and 591 from the Gaza Strip. [www.rchrs.org]

brought in to present the war as a religious mandatory war against the Jews – who were said to be God's enemy. A mere two weeks after Sharon's walk on the Temple Mount, the preacher delivering the Friday sermon on official PA TV called for genocide of Jews in the name of Islam:

"The Jews are the Jews, whether Labor or Likud, the Jews are the Jews. They do not have any moderates or any advocates of peace. They are all liars... They must be butchered and they must be killed, as Allah said [in the Quran]: 'Fight them, Allah will punish them by your hands. He will humiliate them, and grant you victory over them.' The Jews are like a spring: As long as you step on it with your foot, it doesn't move. But if you lift your foot off the spring, it hurts you and punishes you. This is the case of the Jews. Have no mercy on the Jews anywhere in and country. [Quran]: 'Fight them wherever you are, wherever you meet them – kill them.' Wherever you are - kill those Jews and those Americans who are like them and those who stand with them. They are all together against the Arab and the Muslims."

[Dr. Ahmed Yousuf Abu Halabiah, a member of the Palestinian Shari'ah (Islamic religious law) Rulings Council, and Rector of Advanced Studies at the Islamic University, Palestinian Television, Oct. 13, 2000, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

This is a critically important and lethal message coming to a religious society. Since Allah according to Islamic teaching never changes His mind, the PA teaching that Allah wants Jews to be killed "wherever you meet them" - is a call to kill Jews continuously and is a stigma the PA placed on Jews that can never be erased.

These religious messages - to hate and kill Jews as an Islamic imperative continued in the PA's public religious teachings by many different religious figures throughout the Intifada.

Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Madi, Palestinian Authority cleric:

"I was delighted when a youth said to me: 'Oh, Sheikh, I am 14 years old, I have 4 more years, and then I will blow myself up among Allah's enemies. I will blow myself up among the Jews.' I said: 'My little son, I'll ask Allah [to grant] you Martyrdom.'

We blow them up in Hadera, we blow them up in Tel-Aviv and in Netanya through the mastery that Allah placed us upon this riff-raff. If there is no way out of death, it is shameful for us to die as cowards. The Jews have bared their teeth....they will not be deterred except by the color of the blood of their filthy people. They will not be deterred unless we blow ourselves up willingly and voluntarily among them. The Prophet Muhammad said: 'The Jews will fight against you but Allah will make you masters over them.' That is, not only through the bravery of our sons but also Allah will make the Muslim master of the Jew. Blessings upon anyone who has charged at a soldier for the sake of Allah. Blessings upon anyone who has acted for the sake of Allah and has gone on raids for His sake. Blessings upon anyone who has brought up his sons with the education of Jihad and Martyrdom-seeking. Blessings upon anyone who has saved a single bullet in order to put it through a Jew's head. We shall enter

Jerusalem as conquerors and Jaffa as conquerors, and Haifa as conquerors and Ashkelon as conquerors."

[Sheikh Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Madi, Friday sermon on Official PA TV, Aug. 3, 2001, Exhibit 1 - DVD]

A very significant religious teaching appeared in the official PA daily in a religious article by Sheikh Muhammad Abd Al-Hadi La'afi, the senior PA religious official - responsible for Religious Teaching and Instruction in the Office of the Waqf. Here he taught that Islam is destined to continue fighting and killing Jews until their annihilation:

"The battle with the Jews will surely come... the decisive Muslim victory is coming without a doubt, and the prophet spoke about in more than one Hadith and the Day of Resurrection will not come without the victory of the believers [the Muslims] over the descendants of the monkeys and pigs (i.e., the Jews) and with their annihilation."

[Official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, May 18, 2001 Ex 2s 22]

Dr. Mahmoud Mustafa Najem, PA religious figure:

"The Prophet Muhammad, whom the Jews tried to murder more than once, by poisoning, by witchcraft by throwing stones at him and by all kinds of political assassination. He warned us of the Jews, the evil of the Jews and the deceit of the Jews... He waged war on them and expelled them from Arabia, saying: 'There shall not be two religions in Arabia.' He explained the character of the Jew in the Quran and in the Sunna (Islamic traditions) so that we would beware of them all the time and so that we would know how to deal with the Jews... Say to the Jews: 'Expect your graveyard! Expect the final battle.'"

[Official PA TV Feb. 8, 2002, Exhibit DVD]

Dr. Mahmoud Mustafa Najem, PA religious figure:

"Praise unto Allah, Who cursed our enemies; curse upon curse up to Judgment Day. And He has cursed them as well through the words of His prophets and emissaries... The Jews, however, as is their nature, and as Allah described them in His Book, [characterizing them] by conceit, pride, arrogance, rampage, disloyalty and treachery... They have a single common trait: enmity of Islam and Moslems... Note [their] deceit and cunning. Thus, it is not an exception to their nature, for which Allah transformed them to apes and pigs. [Quran] 'We said to them: Be apes, despised and loathed.'" [Official PA TV, Nov. 1, 2002 Exhibit DVD]

Ibrahim Mudayris, official, PA Ministry of Religious Trusts and Religious Affairs:

"The Prophet said: 'The resurrection will not take place until the Muslims fight the Jews, and the Muslims kill them. The Muslims will kill the Jews, rejoice [in it], rejoice in Allah's victory. The Muslims will kill the Jews, and he will hide.' The Prophet said: 'The Jews will hide behind rock and tree, and the rock and tree will say: 'Oh servant of Allah, oh Muslim, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him!' Why is there this malice? Because there are none who love the Jews on the face of the earth: not man, not rock, and not tree. Everything hates them. They

destroy everything. They destroy the trees and destroy the houses. Everything wants vengeance on the Jews, on these pigs on the face of the earth, and the day of our victory, Allah willing, will come." [Official PA TV, Sept. 10, 2004 Exhibit DVD]

Ibrahim Mudayris, official, PA Ministry of Religious Trusts and Religious Affairs:

"All the weapons must be aimed at the Jews, Allah's enemies, the cursed nation in the Quran, whom Allah describes as apes and pigs, worshippers of the calf and idol worshippers...Nothing will deter them except the color of blood in their filthy nation... We are waging this cruel war with the brothers of the apes and pigs, the Jews and the sons of Zion. The Jews will fight you and you will subjugate them. Until the Jew will stand behind the tree and the rock. And the tree and the rock will say: oh Muslim, oh servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him." [Official PA TV, Sept. 12, 2004 Exhibit DVD]

Ibrahim Mudayris, official, PA Ministry of Religious Trusts and Religious Affairs:

"Why did Allah change the direction of prayer from Al-Aqsa Mosque (in Jerusalem) to Al-Haram Mosque (in Mecca)? The reason is those [Jews] who are the cause of all catastrophes on earth. The reason for it is those [Jews] who spit their poisons at the international and regional level, those [Jews] who are the reason for every disaster of the world..." [Official PA TV, Sept. 24, 2004 Exhibit DVD]

Ibrahim Mudayris, official, PA Ministry of Religious Trusts and Religious Affairs:

"The Prophet said: The Resurrection will not take place until the Muslims fight the Jews, and the Muslims kill them. Rejoice in Allah's victory... Everything wants vengeance on the Jews... these pigs on the face of the earth. And the day of our victory, Allah willing, will come." [Official PA TV, Oct. 10, 2004 Exhibit DVD]

Ibrahim Mudayris, official, PA Ministry of Religious Trusts and Religious Affairs:

"We are absolutely sure that the Zionist government is responsible for the attempt to kill the president [Arafat]. We have no doubt that it somehow poisoned him to kill him slowly. These are the cursed apes and pigs [Jews]. It is our right to pray to Allah to cure him, and to plant poison the hearts of those pigs. Have you seen them on TV embracing each other, singing and dancing, those apes, those pigs, on the news about the president's death." [Official PA TV, Nov. 5, 2004 Exhibit DVD]

Ibrahim Mudayris, official, PA Ministry of Religious Trusts and Religious Affairs:

"The Muslim remembers how the Jews corrupted the land... Oh Muslims! The Jews are Jews. Their character and custom are the corruption and destruction of this land. We keep warning you: the Jews are a cancer that spreads inside the body of the Islamic and Arab nation.... They invest in the East Asian countries, which were destroyed [by the Tsunami] because of the Jewish and American corruption and destruction." [Official PA TV, Jan. 7, 2005 Exhibit DVD]

Ibrahim Mudayris, official, PA Ministry of Religious Trusts and Religious Affairs:

"The Jews are a virus similar to AIDS, from which the entire world is suffering. You'll find Jews behind every conflict on Earth. The suffering of nations—the Jews are behind it! Ask Britain what it did to the Jews! They persecuted them, tortured them! Ask France! They tortured them, persecuted them and burned their Talmud, for the conflicts that they tried to ignite in France. Ask Portugal... Ask Czarist Russia—who invited the Jews who then plotted to murder the Czar! And he massacred them repeatedly. Don't ask Germany what it did to the Jews, since the Jews are the ones who provoked Nazism to fight the entire world."

[Official PA TV, May 13, 2005 Exhibit DVD]

The promotion of violence and religious hate teachings did not come only from the religious establishment. Numerous music videos likewise encouraged Palestinians to be violent, often in the name of defending the Al-Aqsa Mosque, Islam and to "terrorize" Israelis.

As soon as the conflict started, official Palestinian Authority TV started running a video clip showing Ariel Sharon walking on the Temple Mount, which called on Palestinians to go on "Jihad" in order to defend the Al-Aqsa Mosque. This is one of many videos produced and broadcast by the Palestinian Authority throughout the period of the Intifada, broadcast hundreds of times, telling Palestinians to fight in order to defend Al-Aqsa. [See DVD with many video clips]

One video combined these numerous components. First the video was named on the TV screen "Al-Aqsa or Paradise," implying that one should fight to give his/her life for Al-Aqsa. One of the scenes in the video clip includes a father reading the Quran to his young son who is sitting on his lap, and the father shows him this verse:

Text: Quran: "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies..."

The boy stands against a wall looking upset, but the father strokes the boy's face, then picks up a stone and puts it in the boy's hand.

In all three opinions by Lori Allen, David Miller, and Glenn Robinson respectively this religious nature of the conflict was strikingly left out. In fact, all three misrepresented the name of the conflict saying it was the "Second Intifada" even though this is not its name in Arabic and among Palestinians. They hide in their opinions what anyone in the area at the time or a student of the conflict would know. That the Palestinians named this terror campaign the "**Al-Aqsa Intifada**"— a religious campaign to defend the mosque. When it would be referred to as the second Intifada by Palestinians, it would be to differentiate it from the one in 1988, but second Intifada was never its name.

Strikingly, the name the "Al-Aqsa Intifada" is not mentioned in the three opinions – even though their entire opinions all written about what happened during the Al-Aqsa Intifada. This is part of their misrepresentation of the conflict that paints an incorrect picture hiding the basic religious component and drive behind the terror and violence.

Because it was a religious war with the defense of Al-Aqsa at the center, the terror wing of Fatah, which carried out its suicide terror attacks and drive-by shootings, was likewise named the ***Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades***.

In January 2005, I wrote a report documenting this religious ideology that was used to fuel the terror campaign entitled: "Kill a Jew - Go to Heaven." [See ex 2s 13]

Another confirmation of the religious nature of the PA terror campaign and that in Palestinian eyes it was not solely about the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jerusalem, is found in a poll of Palestinians by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, September 27, 2003, that asked:

If Israel were to leave all territories, including East Jerusalem, and grant statehood to the Palestinians, should Hamas and Islamic Jihad give up their armed struggle against Israel?

Yes	26%,
No	59%

Islamic Jihad by definition present war with Israel as Islamic and religious. Likewise Hamas sees the war as Islamic only. The fact that 59% of Palestinians wanted Hamas and Islamic Jihad to continue their armed struggle against Israel even in the event of the creation of a Palestinian state within the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, shows a serious support by Palestinians of the religious message of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. That religious message presents killing of Jews as Allah's will: To exemplify, Hamas' Charter includes the following:

"Title: The Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement - Hamas – 1988
"In the name of the Most Merciful Allah
"Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind:"
(Koran Al-Imran - verses 109-111).

From the introduction:
"For our struggle against the Jews is extremely wide-ranging and grave..."

Article One:
"The Islamic Resistance Movement: The Movement's program is Islam.
..."

Article 7:
"Hamas has been looking forward to implement Allah's promise whatever time it might take. The Prophet, prayer and peace be upon Him, said [in a Hadith]:
'The time (of Resurrection) will not come until Muslims will fight the Jews; until the Jews hide behind rocks and trees, which will cry: Oh Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, come and kill him!'

Article 11:

"The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine [i.e., they include in this all of Israel] has been an Islamic Waqf [Trust] throughout the generations and until the Day of Resurrection, no one can renounce it or part of it, or abandon it or part of it."

Article 28

"Israel, by virtue of its being Jewish and of having a Jewish population, defies Islam and the Muslims."

It was not just that charter, the active Hamas messaging also defined the killing of Jews as Allah's will that would be rewarded. This was posted on Hamas' website:

Text:

"We shall knock on heavens doors with the skull of Jews!"

Immad Akkel

Hamas website address"

Ax is crashing down on the words: "The Jews".

2 Faces: Immad Akkel (Hamas terrorist killed by Israel)



The religious nature of Hamas, and the message that Allah wants Muslims to kill Jews exemplified with the Hadith quoted is clear from the above quotes from Hamas' charter. Thus, when the Palestinian population asked in the middle of the terror campaign in September 2003, if their desire for the creation of a Palestinian state, which included the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, would be satisfied, should stop Hamas and Islamic Jihad continuing their religious war against Israel, 59% said no. The religious war is separate from the nationalist claims.

The religious hate teaching has not stopped with the end of the Intifada but has continued until today. These are some examples:

Dr. Tayseer Al-Tamimi, PA Chief Justice of Religious Court, and Chairman of Supreme Council of Islamic Law:

"Concerning the Jews, the Holy Quran says that they lack understanding, are void of wisdom, know nothing, violate agreements, etc. However, the Jews were known - it was known about them throughout history - that they make false claims, lies, forgery, slander, and fabrications, in order to justify their aggression, land theft, defilement of holy sites, appropriation of land, destruction of homes, murder of children, women, and the elderly." [Official PA TV, June 9, 2009]

Sheikh Muhammad Hussein, Mufti of Jerusalem and Palestine:

"The Al-Aqsa Mosque is threatened by the plans of the **enemies of Allah [the Jews]**, who have violated all faith and religious laws, **and even deviated from their humanity.**" [Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, June 26, 2010]

During a documentary on Jerusalem, the PA TV narrator that Jews praying at Judaism's holiest site, the Western Wall, is "sin and filth.":

"They [Israelis] know for certain that our [Palestinian] roots are deeper than their false history. We, from the balcony of our home, look out over [Islamic] holiness and on sin and filth [Jews praying at the Western Wall]."

[Official PA TV, Sept. 10, 2010]

An article on religion in the official PA daily by Sheikh Ishaq Feleifel taught that Jews have an inherent evil Jewish nature – and comes from Adam's first son who murdered his brother":

"In this lesson I wanted to talk about Cain and Abel - that's the first story on earth, whose victim was Abel, at the hands of his brother Cain - because this story shows a similarity to the Jews and their crimes... The Jews, by throwing off their yoke, followed in the footsteps of the first person on earth who threw off the yoke of Allah. Their [the Jews'] evil nature is drawn from Adam's first son [who murdered his brother]..."

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, May 13, 2011]

An article in official PA daily wrote that Zionism is a religious Jewish plan to rule over the non- Jewish world, and "Goyim [non-Jews] must submit to their will"

"The source of the name 'Zionism' is 'Mount Zion', one of the four mountains upon which the city of Jerusalem was founded. The Jews believe that their God lives there. Zionism is an extreme religious ideology whose aim is political hegemony and the transformation of a Jewish monarchy in Palestine into a basis for their eternal rule over the world, that others, "Goyim" [non-Jews], must submit to their will, which is drawn from the will of God."

[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, May 15, 2011]

The same religion columnist Sheikh Ishaq Feleifel taught in the official PA daily that Judaism is a "distorted, corrupted, falsified religion":

"The struggle between truth and falsehood is as ancient as life upon this earth... yet the mighty Islam, from the breaking of its dawn and the spreading of its light up until our time, has been targeted by its enemies... the enemies have announced in a clear and provocative manner their despicable and terrible plot. Sixty-three years ago, the Israeli Prime Minister, Ben Gurion, stood at the UN after the entire world granted recognition to the malignant cancerous growth known as the State of Israel... The Prime Minister of this destructive cancerous growth stood up to declare the religion of the Jews in Palestine to the entire world. I hope that the [Islamic] nation will study this faith in order to know with certainty that the Jews talk, in conferences and in negotiations, only through their distorted, corrupted, falsified religion... The conflict between us and the Jews is

not a conflict about land and borders, but rather a conflict about faith and existence." [Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, June 3, 2011]

A PA TV documentary on Jerusalem taught that rain cleanses Jerusalem of Jews' impurity so that Muslims can pray

"The golden dome [of the mosque] shines with colors of the sky, with the white of clouds, while the joyous holiday [Eid Al-Adha] is good to the residents. The light rain cleanses the steps of the foreigners [visuals of Jews on screen] so that the feet [of Muslims] in prayer will not step on impurity."

[Official PA TV, Nov. 6, 2011]

When the Mufti was introduced at the Fatah event cited above in Jan 2012, the moderator introduced him as follows:

"Our war with the descendants of the apes and pigs (i.e., Jews) is a war of religion and faith. Long Live Fatah! [I invite you,] our honorable Sheikh."

[Official PA TV, Jan. 9, 2012]

After it was publicized that the PA Mufti, Muhammad Hussein, at that Fatah event preached that Palestinian must fulfill the Islamic destiny of exterminating Jews, there was a strong international outcry against the Mufti's speech. [PA TV (Fatah), Jan. 9, 2012] Despite the international condemnation, the PA did not condemn or retract the statements. The Mufti was not fired from his position and is still in his job as most senior PA religious authority.

The Mufti himself likewise did not retract his teaching about the Islamic command to kill Jews. Rather, he compounded the problem by insisting that the command to kill the Jews originated with Mohammad, and therefore he should not be condemned for passing on Allah's command, as revealed by Mohammad, Islam's prophet, in the Hadith: "We are not calling to kill Jews and we did not call to kill Jews, **we never said 'kill Jews' the Hadith says [it]. I am not responsible for the Hadith. The Hadith is in the book. The Hadith is a noble Hadith, it is not my Hadith.**"

[PA Mufti, Muhammad Hussein on Reshet Bet (Israeli radio), Jan. 22, 2012]

Muhammad Hussein who by this quote taught that Palestinians are destined to kill all Israel's Jews, was not disciplined by the PA, was not removed from his position, and remains the PA Mufti, the highest religious authority in the PA today.

Whereas these recent religious teachings promoting hatred and genocide of Jews clearly did not influence the terror during the Al-Aqsa Intifada, seeing how central these religious teachings are even today in the Palestinian world, sheds light on why Arafat chose to start the war in the name of Islam.

It should be noted that the Palestinian population today continues to see the conflict with Israel as a religious war against Jews. A poll taken in June - July 2011 found that 79% of Palestinians believe that Jews are the "enemy" and that the conflict will continue

until the Jews' inevitable defeat by Islamic and Arab forces. The pollsters read the following statement (a quote from the Hamas charter) and the Palestinians were asked whether they believe or do not believe it:

"Our struggle against the Jews is extremely wide-ranging and grave, so much so that it will need all the loyal efforts we can wield, to be followed by further steps and reinforced by successive battalions from the multifarious Arab and Islamic world, until the enemies are defeated and Allah's victory prevails."

The results were noteworthy: 34% "strongly believe" and 45% "somewhat believe".

[West Bank and Gaza Frequency Questionnaire, June 20-July 8, 2011 Greenberg, Quinlan, Rosner, 2011]

The pollsters also asked Palestinians if they believe the Islamic Hadith (that had been taught on PA TV by religious leaders during the Intifada), that killing Jews is a precursor to the Day of Judgment:

"... please state whether you believe it or do not believe it:

'The Day of Judgment will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews, when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Muslims, O servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him.'

73% of Palestinian said they "believe" and only 22% said they "don't believe."

Presenting Jews as the enemy of Allah on official PA TV has continued through 2013. *(The videos cited above and additional videos with more representative examples of official Palestinian media during this period are on the DVD Exhibit 1.)*

Another striking indicator that the Palestinian population does not see Israel as the main source of its problems is a series of polls done by the Palestinian organization Near East Consulting. While their web site only lists results from 2006 the year after the Intifada it is still an indicator of Palestinian opinion showing consistently over years that Israel is a very minor source of "depression" for Palestinians. Some polls fewer than 2% of Palestinians saw "the occupation in general" as the source of "depression" [See polls attached. [ex- S2- 3]

PA indoctrination to support suicide bombing in defense of Islam was so strong that when the American polling institute PEW questioned Muslims in 2011 in many different places about their support for suicide bombing to defend Islam, the Palestinian population was at 68% by far the greatest supporters of this in the world. The closest were Lebanese Muslims at less than half that support.

Poll question:

"Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?"

Country	Net Total % Often/ Sometimes	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	DK
Palestinian Territories <i>Gaza</i> <i>West Bank</i>	68	31	37	10	19	3
	70	28	42	10	16	4
	66	33	33	10	21	3
Lebanon <i>Shia</i> <i>Sunni</i>	35	12	23	25	39	0
	40	10	30	28	32	1
	32	15	17	23	45	0
Egypt	28	12	16	34	38	1
Israel (Arabs)	20	5	15	27	41	12
Jordan	13	4	9	31	55	2
Indonesia	10	2	8	11	77	2
Turkey	7	2	5	14	60	19
Pakistan	4	2	2	1	89	5

[<http://pewglobal.org/2011/05/17/arab-spring-fails-to-improve-us-image/5/>, May 17, 2011]

What is so striking about these results is that they are at a time that the Palestinian population still does not see Israel as its major “concern.” The poll by Near East Consulting in Dec 2010 [the last one on their website] asked Palestinians about their level of concern: [<http://www.neareastconsulting.com/>]

“A. Level of concern

In comparison with the last two months, the level of concern among the Palestinians has increased significantly. As shown in figure 2, below, the percentage of people who feel concerned these days reaches 91% of which 44% are extremely concerned... “

When asked what concerned them again it was not Israel. What concerned them was: “The economic hardship 37%, The absence of security 18%, The internal power struggle 27%, The Israeli occupation 9%, family problems 2%.

Significance of PA media

In an attempt to minimize the significance of the calls to murder Israelis in the name of religion that appeared in the PA media, there are claims in the opinions of Miller, Robinson, and Allen about the insignificance of PA TV to Palestinians. These polls are

contradicted by the opinions of Palestinians in a number of polls taken during the time the terror was going on.

For example, Lori Allen's report cites four studies – footnotes 42, 43, 44, 45, and 46, - to back these claims but none of them are taken during the period of the Intifada.

In one she writes: "Studies indicate that most Palestinians did not consult media associated with the PA as their primary news sources." But this study, which Allen chose to quote, was taken in 2013.

Allen also wrote: "According to one poll, the majority of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip go to Al-Jazeera as their primary news source, with only 12.8 percent of respondents claiming Palestine TV as their most watched channel." But this poll was from 2010.

Allen also wrote: "Moreover, the major news dailies most directly associated with the PA were not generally viewed as credible by much of the population."

But this report was from 1999.

Allen also wrote: "Most Palestinians considered television to be their most important source of information from the media, and among the TV stations available, Al-Jazeera was the most popular station". But this poll was from 2006.

Polls taken while the terror was going on show exactly the opposite of Allen's claims. First, PA TV was the main TV source that Palestinians used – with 76% watching it:

"Dean of the Faculty of Media in Al-Aqsa University Hussein Abu Shanab...

In the study, he revealed the extent to which the media were followed during the Intifada's events (the PA terror campaign 2000-2005). Television and satellite channels were in the first place. Palestinian TV and Palestinian satellite channels were in the first place with 76.6%, Al-Jazeera in second place with 52.3%, while Abu-Dhabi, Egypt and the MBC satellite channel were in the third place.

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, July 15, 2001, ex S2 25]

In addition, the overwhelming majority felt that PA TV influenced the escalation of the Intifada.

"Headline: "In a poll done by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion 69,2% of Palestinians consider the role of the local media in its coverage of the events of the Intifada as positive"

"A public opinion poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, supervised by the Center's head Dr. Nabil Kukali, shows that 40.8% of Palestinians are of the opinion that the media played an active role in escalating the Intifada to a great extent, while 34.1% felt the [media] played an active role to a certain degree, 11.1% said this [the media's] role was marginal, whereas 6.2% said the media had no role at all [in escalating the Intifada]. 7.8% chose not to respond to the question." [*Al-Ayyam*, Sept. 24, 2001 ex S2 26 A- S2 -26 B]

Clearly, these polls taken at the time of the terror counter Allen's claims that Palestinians did not watch PA TV or that it was insignificant. Palestinians were watching PA TV and it was escalating the Intifada.

As is seen by these polls, PMW's monitoring and analyzing events, activities, sermons, media and statements of PA leaders coming from official PA sources afforded PMW an excellent picture of messages to its people.

Al-Jazeera is not watched by PMW because it is not a Palestinian media outlet and is not exclusively directed at a Palestinian audience. Al-Jazeera is a Qatari TV station, not connected to the PA leadership. PA leaders exert no control and their access is dependent on the news outlet itself.

PMW did follow the independent Palestinian newspaper Al-Quds, which is privately owned and published in East Jerusalem, because Palestinians see it as a Palestinian paper and because it was the most popular paper among Palestinians. For this reason PA leaders often issued important statements to Al-Quds. What PMW observed by monitoring official PA sources are indicators of PA government ideologies and policy and the direction they were leading their population. Among these indicators are statements by PA leaders to the people, religious sermons, video clips, official activities, events sponsored by the PA etc. When the PA government used structures that it controlled to promote war and killing, and when its responses to the killings were honor and praise of the killers, issued through the structures it controlled - that indicated that the government favored and promoted the killing of Israeli civilians.

PA hatred of the US

An important case study about Palestinian Authority hate promotion, that helps clarify how the PA can promote hatred and murder of Israelis, is a look at its attitudes and messages about the US. Whereas Israel was the one who established the economic, health and utilities infrastructures for Palestinian, it was the United States who has done the most financially for the PA. The US is the largest financial contributor to the PA since its creation, having given billions of dollars to the PA. Yet the PA has vilified the US under all its administrations.

In a sermon on PA radio just weeks before 9-11 the PA senior religious leader the Mufti Ikrima Sabri prayed that Allah should destroy the United States and Britain. [See DVD] A few months before that Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Madi, a Palestinian Authority cleric preached the same message on PA TV in a PA TV sermon:

"Allah willing, this oppressive state Israel will disappear. This oppressive country America will disappear. This oppressive country Britain will disappear. Those who caused our people's catastrophe (the establishment of the State of Israel)." [See DVD]

PMW published a report that it presented in the Foreign Affairs Committee of Congress documenting the alliances that the PA was forming based on shared ideology with the enemies of the United States. [ex 2s 8. Also see Ex 2s 9 on PA vilification of the US and rejecting its funding and ex 2s 10 PA official media writing that Hitler was better than Roosevelt and blaming the US for 9-11.]

Also see the PMW report on new 12th grade PA schoolbooks Ex 2s 12, which present the US negatively because of its financial support for Israel but does not mention the

American financial support of the PA, call the Iraqis fighting American soldiers “brave resistance” [*History of the Arabs and the World in the 20th Century, grade 12, p. 147.*] Also see Hillary Clinton’s statement about the schoolbooks ex 2s 11, and more examples of anti-American hate promotion in the PA in other videos on the attached DVD.

But it was not only the Iraqis fighting American soldiers who were glorified as “brave resistance.” The official PA daily published numerous cartoons especially around the anniversary of the 9-11 terror attacks mocking the US and condemning the US. One showed Bin Laden with his two fingers depicted as the burning twin towers in a “V” for victory.

The PA’s ignoring the US aid to the PA and the PA’s hate promotion against America at the same time is reflected in Palestinian opinions. A poll conducted by the Norwegian independent research institute FAFO in November-December 2005 of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza showed that 65% of Palestinians supported “Al Qaeda actions in the USA and Europe.”

The official PA daily *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida* also reported on this poll: *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Dec. 23, 2005]

[Fafo, <http://www.fafo.no/nyhet/pal-Dec05-pressrelease.pdf>. (Fafo – Institute for Applied International Studies – Norway, Survey Dec. 22, 2005) accessed Sept. 15, 2013]

Shahada – Martyrdom death for Allah

Lori Allen misrepresented one of the important themes of the conflict –Shahada – Martyrdom death for Allah. She writes “The term is in fact fundamentally a political term, even if it draws on religious imagery.” She also writes “... the reference to Palestinian men who have been "martyred" as grooms at a wedding comes from a long tradition of Palestinian nationalist art, poetry, and other discourse, that depicts the national homeland as a lover or bride. The wedding therefore is not about virgins, but the homeland.”

This is incorrect for a number of reasons. Palestinian Shahada - Martyrdom is not a political term but is part of a long tradition in religious Islam that puts Martyrdom for Allah on a highest level – even higher sometimes than succeeding for Allah. Second, the promise of female companions in Paradise as reward of Martyrdom for Allah is also an Islamic tradition and it is these traditions as will be shown below that the PA applied to the conflict with Israel.

The following are five sources from early Islamic writings cited in the article “Martyrdom and Self-Sacrifice in Classical Islam” by Eitan Kolberg, that will suffice to show the Islamic source for Shahada - Martyrdom for Allah - that the PA was promoting for their adults and children:

“1. Another fighter, Awf bin Al Hareth, also known as Ibn Afraa (after his mother), put on his armor in preparation for battle and then asked the prophet what was God’s Will. The prophet replied, “God will be very pleased if you go into battle

without any armor." Ouf immediately removed his armor and fought until he was killed.

2. Shortly before going to war, two relatives named Saad bin Abi Wakats and Abdallah bin Jahsh were at prayer. Saad prayed that he should encounter a great enemy warrior on the battlefield and fight with him until he overpowered him, killed him and took his weapon. On the other hand, Abdallah prayed that he should encounter a warrior on the battlefield with whom he would struggle until the enemy would overcome him, kill him, and slice off his nose and one of his ears. (Ibn Hasham, 2, pages 457-458. Taberi, Tariach, S-rah 1, page 1322.) The tradition continues that when Abdallah would meet God, he would be asked, "For whom were your nose and ear cut off?" And Abdallah would answer, "For the sake of You and Your messenger." At the end of that day, Saad saw Abdallah with an ear and his nose hanging on a thread. He understood this to mean that Abd Allah's prayer (to die for Allah) had been accepted more than his own. (Ibn Abd Albar, 2, pages 878-879.)

3. Abu Altsahbaa Sila bin Ashyam Aladawi of the second generation of Islam was a famous horseman. On one occasion he went out to battle accompanied by one of his sons. He instructed his son to march ahead to certain death so that he (Sila) could entreat God to be rewarded for his son falling as a martyr. The son did fall in battle and then the father joined the fighters and was himself killed. When women came to console Sila's widow, she told them, "If you came to congratulate me, that's very good, and if not then go." (Abu Alarab, page 241. Sachawi, Irtiyah, page 59a (From Ibn Hanbal.)

4. Regarding the prophet's friend, Mahmad Elzabir bin Awam, it is told that he named his sons after Muslim martyrs in the hope that it would be more likely that they would find their deaths in the same way. (Ibn Qayyam, Tuhfa, page 75, quoted by Giladi, page 112)

5. The following story is told by the scholar Alqasem bin Othman Aluawi of Damascus (who died in the year 862-863/248). One day, while he was walking around the Khaaba Stone (the holy rock in Mecca sacred to Islam), he noticed a man who kept repeating, "Dear God, you have supplied all of the wants of the needy, but I still do not have what I need!" The man explained to Aljawi that he and six other fighters fell captive during a raid into enemy territory. When the first fighter was brought to the gallows, the seven gates of heaven opened, and standing next to each of them was one of the maidens of Paradise. As soon as the first fighter's head was removed, a maiden came down to him holding a scarf. The same thing happened to each of the other five fighters. However, when it was the turn of the individual telling the story, someone intervened on his behalf and his life was saved. At that very moment, he heard the seventh maiden telling him as she closed the gate, "You don't know what you have lost!" Since then, this man had been shrouded in sadness. (Bihaki, 4, page 57, Siyuti, Dar, 2, page 100)

As will be shown – it was this Martyrdom of Dying for Allah that the PA was promoting – even to its children. Terms have multiple meanings, but what my report describes is how the PA related to defined, promoted and glorified Shahada – Martyrdom – as an exemplary religious status rewarded to those who either died passively or were active in seeking their deaths. The fact that one could be a passive Shahid, in no way changes the fact that an active Shahid, that is, one who seeks or “achieves” death in combat or through suicide terror, is defined by the PA heroically **in religious terms as having done an exemplary religious act**. To become a Shahid is a religious honor and not something that is applied to someone having died while committing a negative act.

This view was not only voiced by PA religious leaders, it was also passed on to children on official PA TV through music videos that demanded “Ask for death and life will be given to you”, and promising an exciting child’s paradise with kites and amusement parks, and others that taught children “Shahada is sweet.” [see ex-S2- 4 , DVD]. Just as the killing of Jews was said to be an exemplary Islamic act, so too seeking Shahada through suicide bombing was said to be an exemplary Islamic act.

Accordingly, suicide terrorists who have murdered civilians, including women and children, on busses, in pizza shops and in cafes, are called *Shahids* – Martyrs for Allah - rewarded by Allah for killing Jews on His behalf, with the greatest rewards in Paradise. The PA policy was and is to publically honor all Palestinian terrorists as Shahids – even those who were killed while carrying out suicide attacks that targeted civilians. Even those suicide bombers who murdered children are referred to as “*Ishtishhadi*” – “*Shahada seekers*” (i.e., seekers of Martyrdom death for Allah). By definition, suicide bombers and others who die in the act of attacking Israelis could not be called “*Shahada seekers*” unless the PA is teaching that Allah endorsed and rewarded the killing of those people. The PA’s explicit, public and actively publicized message to its people is that killing Jews and Israelis is an act of that God not only approves of but desires.

The message that Martyrdom death for Allah was is to be desired and even sought was prominent in PA society and was transmitted so successfully to Palestinians that violent death became an act of aspiration, not of desperation. Achieving - Martyrdom death for Allah was presented as a religious ideal that Allah desired and Palestinians should strive for. The PA had a special campaign focused on having children aspire to Shahada death which then Sen. Hillary Clinton called “Child Abuse”. [See Exhibit 1 - the DVD, and text in [ex- S2- 4] Striving for Shahada and promoting Shahada was an explicit part the PA terror campaign. [see article “Aspiration not Desperation”, ex – S2 5]

People who see life as the supreme value have difficulty understanding the mind of the suicide terrorist, and have trouble understanding that a leadership could indoctrinate its children to see death as an ideal using music videos.

In order to create willingness among the population to confront Israel violently, the PA took advantage of the ancient tradition in Islam, *Shahada* or *Death for Allah*, which

encourages Muslims to aspire to die in combat for Islam. The PA by using this terminology was telling their people that this ancient tradition also applies to them in confrontation with Israel today. Whereas, certainly others can also be called Shahids, what is important is the use the Palestinian Authority made of the term during its terror campaign.

This indoctrination began shortly after the start of the Al-Aqsa Intifada and continued until it ended. The PA promoted Shahada as a mandatory religious Islamic duty, both for adults and children, promising great rewards. This was promoted through religious sermons on TV. Palestinians were taught that Allah desires all of them – men, women and children – to seek death as Martyrs, and that it is a privilege to be worthy of dying for Allah. One cleric even warned that if they didn't seek Death for Allah their Muslim faith was deficient. The following are some examples:

Ahmad Abd Al-Razeq, PA cleric:

"The believer was created to know his Lord - to follow Islam, to carry the banner [of Islam], 'there is no god but Allah,' to be a Shahid (Martyr) or intend to be one. If the believer doesn't hope for Shahada (Death for Allah), he will die a Jahiliya death (without faith). We must aim for Shahada and request it from Allah. If we truthfully ask for it, [Allah] will grant us its rewards, even if we die in bed." [Click here to view](#)

[Official PA TV, March 22, 2002]

PA cleric: Muslims must pray to be granted Shahada

Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Madi:

"Whoever has not been granted Shahada (Death for Allah) at this time, must rise at night and ask: 'My Lord, why have You denied me Shahada?'" [Click here to view](#)

[Official PA TV, April 12, 2002]

Shahada is honor and privilege

Yusuf Abu Sneineh, Preacher at Al-Aqsa Mosque:

"Shahada (Death for Allah) is an honor, and only those who Allah desires attain the privilege." [Official PA radio Voice of Palestine, Dec. 28, 2001] [See DVD]

Seeking death was glorified:

PA cleric: We hope and pray for death for Allah

Ibrahim Mudayris, Official, PA Ministry of Religious Trusts and Religious Affairs:

"Regarding the threats of this Nazi mass murderer [Sharon] against President Arafat, we hereby tell him: We are not like you, we do not desire life. If you threaten to kill President Arafat, we will pray to Allah: 'Grant the President Shahada [Martyrdom] for You.' Yes, we do not pray – like other preachers pray – for longevity for the rulers; here in Palestine we pray: 'Lord, grant the President *Shahada* for You.'"

[Official PA TV, April 30, 2004] [see DVD]

The most prominent reward that Palestinian Martyrs were promised was the 72 Dark-Eyed Virgins in Paradise. A Palestinian religious leader explained that this is authentic Islam, whose purpose is to "fill Muslims with desire for Paradise":

"He [Muhammad] said (in a Hadith, Islamic tradition):

'[There is] a palace of pearls in Paradise and in it seventy courts of ruby... And in each court [there are] seventy houses of green emerald stone. In every house, seventy beds. On every bed, seventy mattresses of every color and on every mattress a woman.' (Hadith) The writing of the Prophet [Muhammad in this Hadith]... is intended to fill Muslims with desire for Paradise... to be worthy of it, because only three dwell there: Prophets, Righteous and Shahids (Martyrs for Allah)."

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Jan. 2, 2004 ex 2s 7]

Religious programs on PA TV presented Martyrdom as a desired achievement even after the period seen now as the end to the Al-Aqsa Intifada.

"A [Shahid] with no head, no legs, his body completely burned. Intestines outside, fingers are gone. .. The most difficult thing which we fear is what the Shahids wish for most of all. They ask Allah: 'Oh God, bring us back [to earth] to be killed by the Apache,,, so the planes will blow us up, that our heads will be cut off. ...'

[Official PA TV, program of Sheik Imad Hamato Nov. 3, 2006]

The religious leaders continued to teach that the Shahid is reward with 72 Maidens of Paradise

"Allah, praise him, in blessing the blood of the Shahid, He forgives him from the first gush of blood. And he sees his place in Paradise. He is shielded from the Great Shock and marries 72 Dark-Eyed Maidens (virgins)."

[Official PA TV, program of Sheik Imad Hamato Nov. 3, 2006]

The message comes from all parts of society, including religious leaders, TV news reports, schoolbooks, and even music videos. Newspapers routinely describe the death and funerals of terrorists as their "wedding." The indoctrination has impacted so significantly on Palestinian society that mothers celebrate their sons' death as "weddings" and some even stated that their sons' motivation to fight Israel and be killed was to reach Paradise and marry the Dark-Eyed Virgins. [See videos on attached DVD]

One music video broadcast repeatedly through the Intifada period is an example of the PA's continuous indoctrination of its young men to imagine beautiful dark-eye woman greeting them if they become Shahids. Indeed, it is the longest running music video on PA TV, originally aired in 2000 and broadcast regularly in until 2010. It shows a male Martyr being greeted in Islam's Paradise by dark eyed women all dressed in white. As the PA religious leader wrote, its purpose is to "fill Muslims with desire for Paradise." [See videos on attached DVD]

In farewell videos suicide terrorists have expressed their wish to get the virgins of Paradise (make this into link to that specific section on site "Martyrs rewarded with 72 maidens") and mothers strive to have their sons marry the maidens by dying as martyrs.

In addition to the popular presentation through the music video religious leaders promoted this and other rewards for Shahada:

Dr. Isma'il al-Raduan: "When the Shahid meets his Maker, all his sins are forgiven from the first gush of blood, and he is exempted from the torments of the grave. He sees his place in Paradise. He is shielded from the Great Shock and marries 72 dark eyed [maidens]. He is a heavenly advocate for 70 members of his family. On his head is placed a crown of honor, one stone of which is worth more than all there is in this world." [Official PA TV, Aug. 17 2001] [See videos on attached DVD]

As a result parents were broadcast on PA announcing that martyrdom of their children is a celebration of their wedding:

Mother of 2 killed terrorists

PA TV interview with Um Al-Ajrami, mother of 2 suicide terrorists:

PA TV host: "They [Israelis] accuse the Palestinian mother of hating her sons and encouraging them to die."

Um Al-Ajrami, mother of terrorist: "We don't encourage our sons to die. We encourage them to Shahada (Martyrdom) for the homeland, for Allah. We don't say to mothers of the Shahids (Martyrs): 'We come to comfort you.' Rather: 'We come to bless you on your son's wedding.' We give out drinks, we give out sweets. Our 'mourning visit' has the joy of a wedding."

[Official PA TV, Nov. 17, 2004 see DVD]

(see more examples of Shahada promotion and parents celebrating children's death, on <http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=110>, <http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=415>, <http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=565>, and <http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=740>)

[Also see videos on attached DVD]

A news report in the official PA daily, *Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, described the funeral of a martyr as a "wedding":

Headline: "Jerusalem groom, Abu-Dahim, [killer of eight] leaves without his wedding procession"

"The residents of the town of Jabal Mukbar [near Jerusalem] were surprised by the sounds of loudspeakers blasting from the [mosque] minarets announcing that the Jerusalem groom, the Shahid, (Martyr) Ala'a Abu-Dahim [murderer of eight Yeshiva students in Jerusalem] has gone without their participation in his wedding procession... Every day, these past seven days, everyone was in a state of anticipation... preparing themselves for the wedding procession. At five o'clock in the morning the loudspeakers of the mosque minarets announced the shocking news to the thousands who were waiting, that the groom was buried in the morning without a celebration and without a wedding procession... frowning faces...expressing their sorrow for having been denied [the right] to participate in the groom's procession and to accompany him to the town's cemetery... The occupation soldiers sneaked in hours before dawn and led several adults to the cemetery... They wanted a quiet wedding without music, thinking that this way Jerusalem would forget its groom... But the wedding will not end this way... it will last three consecutive days in which [the town of] al-Sawahra will welcome all of those who come to congratulate the groom and will hang his portrait embracing the nation's [Palestinian] flags." [*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, March 14, 2008 ex s2 6]

In July 2002, two articulate 11-year-old girls were interviewed in the studio of official Palestinian Authority TV. Among other topics, they spoke of their personal yearning to achieve death through Shahada – Death for Allah – and they said exists in “every Palestinian child.” It is striking that their desire for death was expressed as a personal goal, not related to the conflict with Israel. Having been convinced that dying for Allah is preferable to life, their goal in living is not to experience a good life, but to achieve the proper death and its rewards in the Afterlife.

The following is from their remarks:

Host: “You described Shahada as something beautiful. Do you think it is beautiful?”

Walla: “Shahada is very, very beautiful. Everyone yearns for Shahada. What could be better than going to paradise?”

Host: “What is better, peace and full rights for the Palestinian people, or Shahada?”

Walla: “Shahada. I will achieve my rights after becoming a Shahida.”

Yussra: “Of course Shahada is a good thing. We don’t want this world, we want the Afterlife. We benefit not from this life, but from the Afterlife... The children of Palestine have accepted the concept that this is Shahada, and that death by Shahada is very good. Every Palestinian child aged, say 12, says ‘Oh Lord, I would like to become a Shahid.’”

Moderator: “We’ve got a call, Sabrine from Ramallah. How old are you Sabrine?”

Sabrine: “I’m nineteen. It’s true that we’re sad about youth and children who have died but at the same time we must be happy because the Shahids go to paradise. Ayyat al-Akhras was 17 when she blew herself up. A girl of 17 is fully aware.”

Moderator: “Sabrine, are you for it or against it?”

Sabrine: “Of course I support blowing up, it is our right. Maybe no-one will sympathize with us when they hear that children blow themselves up, but that - that’s called heroism. So far, the youngest woman Martyr to have blown herself up was Ayyat Al-Akhras. Ayyat Al-Akhras was a 17 year old girl.”

Moderator: “Sabrine; now, is it natural that Ayyat Al-Akhras explodes herself?”

Sabrine: “Of course it’s natural.”

Moderator: “Does anyone want to respond to Sabrine?”

Walla: “What she said about Ayyat Al-Akhras - that it was her right - and she’s correct in supporting it. She noted an important point: Ayyat was a girl - you know, the boys of Palestine aren’t done yet - she was a girl, 17 years old. She could learn more - finish her education. Then, when no more boys are left, and after she’s finished her education, she can carry out ‘operations’.”

[Official PA TV, June 9, 2002 see DVD]

The Shahada mandate to children to seek Shahada came directly from the Palestinian political leadership. Yasser Arafat presented the actions of children who intentionally died as Shahids as model behavior. The PA press described how a 14-year-old boy named Faris Ouda sought death and actually expressed those same words about not fearing death because Shahada was “sweet” found in the PA

propaganda encouraging children to fight Israel and seek to die while doing it. It was the same words we heard used by the young girl Walla in her TV interview. PA newspaper reported that when Faris Ouda's mother heard he was trying to kill himself as a Shahid, he said to her: "Don't worry, mother, Shahada is sweet."

[*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Nov. 30, 2000 ex 2s -20]

He went out one day to a place he knew the PA and Israeli soldiers were having violent confrontations intent on killing himself, and this was the report in the official PA daily:

"On the day of his death Faris Ouda left his home with a slingshot, after having made himself a wreath decorated with photos of himself and having written on it 'The Brave Shahid Faris Ouda'..." [*Al-Hayat Al-Jadida*, Feb. 3, 2001, ex 2s -19]

And the PA's response to this would be significant. Would they tell their children – beware – don't do what Faris Ouda did – stay safe and stay away from the fighting? No just the opposite. The story of his successfully killing himself was glorified by Arafat himself – who presented him repeatedly the 17 year old who had been brainwashed to commit suicide as a role model for other Palestinian children:

Newsreader: "The President [Arafat] said in his address to these boys and girls [in summer camp] that the Shahid Faris Ouda and all the Shahids of our people constitute the fundamental and victorious power, Allah willing!"

Arafat: "We are saluting the spirit of our hero Shahid, Faris Ouda! Faris Ouda! Faris Ouda! We are proud of you [youth] who represent the steadfastness and the sacrifice of your companion, the hero Shahid, Faris Ouda! Oh, children of Palestine! The peers, friends, brothers and sisters of Faris Ouda. The peers of this hero represent this immense and fundamental power that is within, and it shall be victorious, Allah willing!... Onward together to Jerusalem! Onward together to Jerusalem!"

[Official PA TV Aug. 18, 2002, see ex DVD]

Significantly, the children in the audience at the summer camp understood the message from Arafat and they responded with cheering and chanting:

"Millions of Shahids marching to Jerusalem!"

They understood Arafat's call to be the request for Shahada - and they answered that they are the willing "Millions of Shahids marching to Jerusalem!"

This was broadcast on PA TV first when the event happened on Aug. 18, 2002. But as part of the PA's propaganda promoting child suicide they rebroadcast at least twice more on July 22, 2003 and Aug. 4, 2003. See DVD

Following Arafat's lead, Faris Ouda remained a symbol even for little children. In 2008 a PA TV children's quiz show featured his story as a quiz question which included the expression "Martyrdom is bliss" –even though it was referring to the death of a 14 year old boy:

Child host:

"The [clue] to the riddle:
The national hero, a small child;
A knight riding the "Martyrdom" horse;
Martyrdom is bliss.
Paradise is yours, the hero of Palestine,
who carried a stone to confront a tank.
The prize is very high: \$200."

Answer to the riddle: Faris Ouda.

[Official PA TV, Sept. 16, 2008 [see attached DVD]

In this tragic story of a 14 year old boy we see the components of the PA's manipulation of children to be martyrs. A child who had been convinced to try to achieve a Martyr's death is then turned into a role model for other children who are taught martyrdom is bliss.

Asked in a TV interview what was his message to Palestinian children, he cited Ouda's suicide act, saying dead Palestinian children Shahids are "the greatest message to the world."

Question: "Mr. President, what message would you like to send to the Palestinian people, in general, and, in particular, to the Palestinian children?"

Arafat: "...This child, (i.e., a reference to Faris Ouda), who is grasping the stone, facing the tank, is it not the greatest message to the world when that hero becomes a Shahid? We are proud of them..."

[Official PA TV Jan. 15, 2002 See DVD]

Some of this material was presented at a Senate hearing and then Sen. Hillary Clinton and other officials all condemned it. The chairman of the committee Sen. Arlen Specter called it "civilization abuse." [See DVD]

Arafat did not try to stop the terror - why did the PA issue condemnations of some terror attacks?

None of the arguments that Arafat tried to stop the terror are based on any concrete evidence. As is shown in my first submitted opinion, Arafat was pressured by the US to condemn terror. In one speech to his parliament he said "national interest" and "need to safeguard international support" require that he condemn what he called "these operations against Israeli civilians." [See DVD] The mere words that Arafat may have expressed immediately following terror attacks in order to assure continued international support were dwarfed by the PA's continuous terror promotion in the name of Islam, the glorification of terrorists including suicide bombers, the naming of sporting events and squares after terrorists, as was documented in the first report. If someone wants to stop terror, they would never glorify and honor the terrorists, who committed murder.

Lori Allen claimed that the PA condemned terror and on occasion referred to suicide bombing as “terrorism.” (Pg 27) As explained in my first opinion (pg 40) these so-called condemnations could not be sincere as they were happening at the same time that the PA was glorifying suicide terrorists and naming sporting events after them.

Significantly, an overwhelming majority of Palestinians believed in 2002 during the terror campaign that the PA’s calling suicide bombing “terror” was not a sincere condemnation. When asked: “What motivated the Palestinian Authority to describe Martyrdom-seeking operations [euphemism for suicide bombings] as terror,” 52% said it was because of “international pressure” while “23.2% thought this has to do with ‘Israeli threats.’” In addition, “14.8% thought the reason is national interest considerations. 10% of those asked noted other reasons.” [Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, June 23, 2002 ex S2 24]. This poll, done by the PA General Authority for Information, corroborates my explanation that the PA condemnations were even seen by the Palestinian population itself as insincere, being expressed because of political needs.

Selection Process

Miller writes (pg 3) that I “selectively pick” source material. In dealing with such a long period obviously choosing representative examples is necessary, and the examples chosen are representative of the Intifada period. For example, I have cited 20 pages of examples of glorification of terror by the PA (pp. 18- 38). It includes sporting events and summer camps named after suicide terrorists, PA TV shows glorifying them, and events and statements in their honor. None of this would have happened without PA endorsement. It is an honest and representative example of the way the PA responded to terror. It was not necessary to put 100 pages of examples.

On the other hand, I did not quote many of the so-called condemnations – because as has been shown - the Palestinian population itself realized that they were insincere.

I brought many examples of calls to kill Jews in the name of Islam – these were representative of the period.

The sources cited in my opinion provide an honest and accurate reflection of the period.

Additional sources

See also ex s2 15 Arafat’s Advisor writing that he initiated the Al-Aqsa Intifada and militarized it. See also ex s2 16 in which the PA PM says that the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are a branch of the Fatah and that the PA would continue its relationship with them. See also ex s2 17 The PA’s Religious War against Israel and Jews – a report written during the Intifada documenting the PA promotion of terror war against Jews and Israel. See also ex s2, 18 on example of media coverage and event with congressman. See also ex s2, 21 Encouraging Women Terrorists

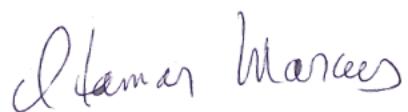
About Itamar Marcus

The three opinions also tried to reject me as researcher based on a combination of false information, presumed contacts with organizations they claim are extreme that I have no connection to, and other criticisms that are groundless. [See for example ex s2 -14]

Summary

In summation, the three reports have created a false narrative both about Israel and about the PA. All the evidence shows that the PA encouraged murder and terror against civilians, and when the killings had been committed, glorified the killers. And as was shown in my first opinion the PA has accepted responsibility as well.

The PA was responsible for leading the terror campaign that never would have happened or continued for 5 years without the PA's direction.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Itamar Marcus". The signature is fluid and cursive, with "Itamar" on the first line and "Marcus" on the second line.

Itamar Marcus Sept 16, 2013